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ABSTRACT

Looking at descriptive, comparative social and historical evidence, this study explored factors contributing to language death for two languages formerly spoken on the Indonesian island of Buru. Field data were gathered from the last remaining speaker of Hukumina and from the last four speakers of Kayeli. A significant historical event that set in motion changing social dynamics was the forced relocation by the Dutch in 1656 of a number of coastal communities on this and surrounding islands, which severed the ties between Hukumina speakers and their traditional place of origin (with its access to ancestors and associated power). The same event brought a large number of outsiders to live around the Dutch fort near the traditional village of Kayeli, creating a multiethnic and multilingual community that gradually resulted in a shift to Malay for both Hukumina and Kayeli language communities. This contrasts with the Buru language still spoken as the primary means of daily communication in the island's interior. Also, using supporting evidence from other languages in the area, the study concludes that traditional notions of place and power are tightly linked to language ecology in this region. Contains 33 references. (Author/MSE)

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Digging for the roots of language death in eastern Indonesia: the cases of Kayeli and Hukumina

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Looking at descriptive, comparative, social and historical evidence, the paper explores factors contributing to language death for two languages formerly spoken on the Indonesian island of Buru. During fieldwork in 1989 data were collected from the last remaining speaker of Hukumina, and from the last four speakers of Kayeli. A significant historical event that set in motion changing social dynamics was the forced relocation by the Dutch in 1656 of a number of coastal communities on Buru and surrounding islands. This severed the ties between Hukumina speakers and their traditional place of origin (with its access to ancestors and associated power). The same event brought a large number of outsiders to live around the Dutch fort near the traditional village of Kayeli, creating a multiethnic and multilingual community which gradually resulted in a shift to Malay for both the Hukumina and Kayeli language communities. This contrasts with the Buru language still spoken as the primary means of daily communication in the interior of the island and for which the author has written a reference grammar. Also using supporting evidence from other languages in the area the paper argues that traditional notions of place and power are tightly linked to language ecology in this region.

1. Introduction

In the Indonesian province of Maluku where the population is roughly 50% Muslim and 50% Christian, people often make distinctions along religious lines in explaining their view of language ecology. In Christian communities, they assert, people no longer speak their vernacular languages and have shifted to Ambonese Malay.[1] In Muslim communities, on the other hand, they assert that people have retained their vernacular languages and speak Ambonese Malay as a second language. While this largely characterizes villages around the provincial capital on the small island of Ambon, religious affiliation per se has not been the determining factor in language maintenance or shift in central Maluku. One has only to look at the nearby island of Buru to find the opposite dynamics—there some Muslim communities have shifted to Malay, while traditional and Christian communities continue to use the vernacular language vigorously.

In this paper I focus on two relatively recent cases of language shift and death among Muslim communities on the island of Buru, looking at a variety of relevant historical, cultural and social factors. On the basis of the understanding gained from these Buru cases, I then discuss several other endangered languages and cases of language shift in both Muslim and Christian communities on other islands in the region.

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[1] Ambonese Malay is a regional variety distinct from the standard Malay known as Indonesian (see B. D. Grimes 1991). I am indebted to Barbara Dix Grimes for her extensive comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

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My research on the functionally extinct languages of Kayeli and Hukumina has been part of my involvement in the Buru Language Project, a project focusing primarily on the vernacular language of 45,000 native inhabitants on the island (called the Buru language), but also including other languages found on the island such as Kayeli, Hukumina, and languages with which these are in contact, such as Ambelau, Ambonese Malay, Buton, Indonesian, Sula and Tukang Besi.[2]

During fieldwork in 1989 I visited the Kayeli area hoping to put the Buru language and culture in its larger context with solid linguistic and cultural data from Kayeli. An earlier attempt at taking a Kayeli wordlist in 1983 in Namlea (across the bay from Kayeli) had proved frustrating, and that data was unreliable. Although recent literature (Wurm and Hattori 1983) had indicated there were 1,000 speakers of Kayeli, in 1989 it took half a day to find four speakers in three villages with the help of the *raja* of Kayeli. No one in Kayeli could think of anyone else still alive who spoke the Kayeli language. Over a three day period of meeting with these four people (two men and two women—all of whom were over sixty years old), they themselves came to several realizations. First, they realized that none of them had used the language actively for over thirty years. Second, as I tried to elicit basic vocabulary there was a growing horror as they came to realize what one of them finally verbalized on the second day: "If the four of us cannot remember these words, then they are lost forever." Third, They also began to realize that the discourse of past glory which had brought identity and cohesion to them as an ethnic group was built on a now crumbled foundation—while the number of people who could trace their ethnic origins to Kayeli kin groups was about 800, they had not maintained their language which symbolized and preserved their unique ethnic identity. It had been lost, not by conscious choice, but by simple neglect. As I was getting on a boat to leave, the *raja* of Kayeli (who had been present at all sessions), asked me, "With the words that you gathered, could you please put together a book that we can use in school to teach our children how to speak our language again?" Not only were these realizations traumatic for them, but also for me as I struggled with having been the instrument that triggered these realizations, albeit unintentionally.

On the earlier survey trip to the north coast of Buru in 1983, I had gathered data from the last speaker of Leliali in the village of Jiku Merasa. That data and the data from Kayeli were sufficient to establish Leliali as a divergent dialect of Kayeli. Upon visiting Jiku Merasa again in late 1989, I learned that the gentleman had died the previous March. No other speakers were known by the community.

During my three days in Kayeli in 1989 I was also introduced to a toothless old woman around 80 years old who claimed to speak Hukumina, also known locally as 'Baɪnbaa'. She had married a Hukumina speaker, but to her knowledge neither she nor anyone else had used the language since WWII. Her mind wandered regularly, and the little data I was able to collect from her are a mixture of Kayeli, Buru, and some other language that I assume is Hukumina. There are no other known speakers.

2. Buru Language Geography Overview

The following figure summarizes what is currently known about languages on Buru. It is based on direct linguistic evidence as well as on indirect evidence such as written historical records, and local oral history, and place names (adapted from C. Grimes, in press). Upper case represents language names, lower case letters represent dialect names, and italics represent subdialects. Alternate names and alternate

[2] The Buru Language Project was initiated by the *raja* of South Buru, BapaRaja Anton Lesnussa (now deceased), in March 1982 when he traveled to the distant city of Ujung Pandang on the island of Sulawesi and made contact with the SIL administration there, specifically requesting assistance with Bible translation and vernacular literacy materials, particularly for the mountain peoples of Buru. At the time he was not particularly interested in documenting the Buru language and culture, nor those of other communities on the island, but he did recognize that outside investigators would need to study them in order to help with what he wanted.

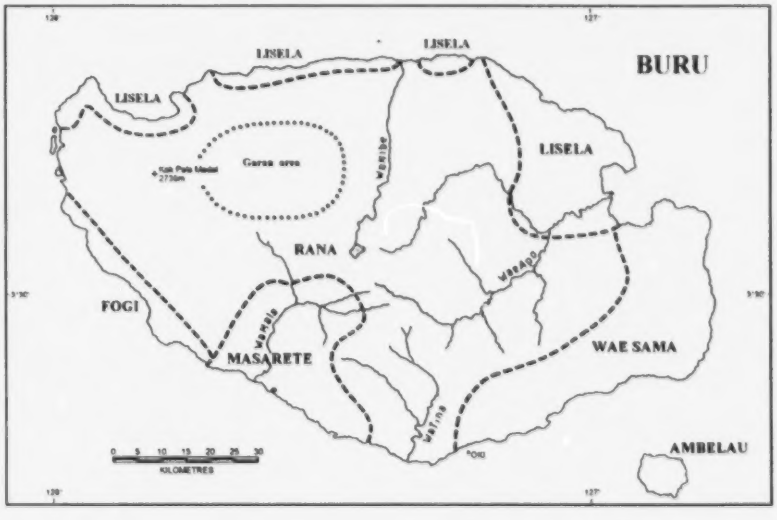
spellings are in parentheses. Li Garan is a special taboo register spoken by speakers of the Rana subdialect (see Grimes and Maryott 1994).

BURU		(45,000 speakers)
	Masarete	–strong
	Wae Sama	–strong
	Rana	–strong
	Rana	
	[Li Garan]	
	Wae Geren (upper)	
	Wae Kabo	
	Wae Tina	
	Lisela (Li Enyorot)	–shifting to Malay
	Lisela (Licella)	
	Tagalisa	
	Wae Geren (lower)	
	Leliali (Liliali)	
	Kayeli (Wae Apo, Unit-unit, Mako)	
	Fogi (Li Emteban)	–mostly shifted to Malay
	Fogi (Vogi, Bobo)	
	Tomahu	–extinct
HUKUMINA (Bambaa)		
	Bara	–extinct
	Hukumina	–1 speaker in 1989
	Palumata (Palamata, Balamata, Pala Mada)	–extinct
KAYELI (Cajeli, Gaeli)		
	Leliali (Liliali, Marulat)	–extinct (as of March 1989)
	Kayeli	–4 speakers in 1989
	Moksela (Maksela, Opselan)	–extinct (1974)
	Ilat	–extinct
	Lumaete (Lumaiti, Lumaite, Lumara)	–extinct

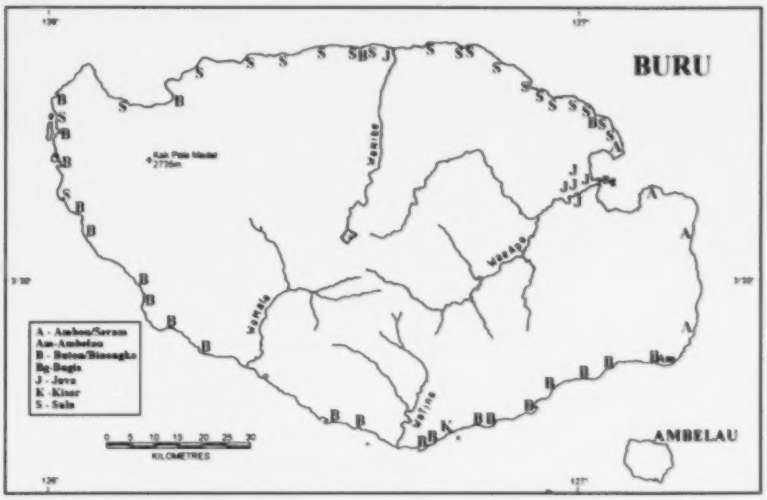
The following maps show the current dialect picture of the Buru language and patterns of immigrant settlements on Buru.

Of the five major dialects, Masarete, Rana and Wae Sama continue to be used as the primary means of daily communication, while speakers of Fogi and Lisela are well along the shift to Malay. The shift in Fogi may be complete. The remaining speakers of Lisela use the language sporadically in limited domains (e.g. in traditional marriage negotiations, or as an insider language around outsiders).

Map 1: Major dialects of the Buru language (1989).



Map 2: Current immigrant settlements on Buru.



Approximately 12,500 Sula speakers inhabit the north coast of Buru and according to their own oral history have done so for 10–14 generations. They maintain their language and maintain ties with their homeland on islands to the north. On the west and south coasts there are also 13,000 people who claim to be from 'Buton' a group of islands off of southeast Sulawesi. They claim to have been there for approximately 12 generations. They maintain their various languages and are in continual contact with their homelands. With so many immigrants on the north coast, speakers of the Lisela dialect of Buru are a minority on their own traditional land.

3. LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY

Buru, Kayeli and Hukumina are sufficiently diverse to be considered separate languages rather than dialects of a single language. This is evidenced in their distinct historical sound correspondences, in their grammatical constructions, and in their vocabularies. Some of the differences are summarized below. The claims are preliminary since the data and reliability vary greatly for each of the three languages. The Buru data are based on 20 months of residence in the language area which have resulted in a growing dictionary (currently 4800 headwords), a corpus of over 200 texts (114 fully interlinearized), a reference grammar (C. Grimes 1991a), an ethnography (B. D. Grimes 1990, 1993), a paper on contact issues (B. D. Grimes 1994b), and a paper on comparative morphology (C. Grimes 1991c), among other things. From the Kayeli data, I am compiling a dictionary that at the time of writing has just over 428 processed headwords (C. Grimes, 1994–ms), and additional field notes based on the three days of fieldwork. For Hukumina I was able to obtain very little reliable data from the one old woman during the span of the fieldwork focusing on Kayeli. Consequently, data for the three languages cannot be evaluated on an equal footing.

3.1 Different historical sound correspondences

Diagnostic differences between Buru and Kayeli are found in the reflexes of several PAN/PMP proto phonemes.[3]

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[3] PAN (Proto Austronesian) represents the highest level parent language reconstructed for the languages indigenous to the islands of Formosa, Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia and Papua New Guinea (excluding Papuan languages), the Pacific including Polynesian and Micronesian languages, and spreading to Madagascar and the Chamic languages of mainland Southeast Asia (see Blust 1978 for the common view of higher level subgrouping, see Grimes, Grimes, Ross, Grimes and Tryon [in press] for a listing of 1202 Austronesian languages). PMP (Proto Malayo-Polynesian) encompasses all Austronesian languages outside of Formosa. The languages on Buru are assumed to be included among the 150 little known Central Malayo-Polynesian [CMP] languages of eastern Indonesia (see Blust 1993, C. Grimes 1991b).

PAN/PMP	*p	*b	*R	*d	*ŋ
Buru	p– –p– –∅	f– –f– –∅	h– –h– –∅	r– –r– –∅	ŋ– –ŋ– –∅
Kayeli	h– –h– –∅	b– –b– –∅	l– –l– –l	l– –l– –ʃ	n– –n– –∅
Hukumina		ɸ– –ɸ– –∅	∅– –?– –∅		n–

A sampling of supporting data are given below:

PAN/PMP *p	*paRi	'stingray'	*pəñu	'turtle'	*pa–	'causative prefix'
Buru /p/	pahi	'stingray'	peno	'sea turtle'	ep–	'causative prefix'
Kayeli /h/	hali	'stingray'	heno	'turtle'	he–	'causative prefix'
PAN/PMP *p	*apuR	'lime, chalk'	*S-in-ipi	'dream'	*pusuq	'heart'
Buru /p/	apu	'lime, chalk'	em-nipi	'dream'	poso-n	'lower chest'
Kayeli /h/	ahul	'lime, chalk'	em-nihi	'dream'	hoso-ni	'heart'
PAN/PMP *p	*pusəj	'navel'	*Rapus	'tie (v)'	*puqun	'tree trunk'
Buru /p/	puse-n	'navel'	hapu	'tie'	puu-n	'shrub'
Kayeli /h/	huse-ni	'navel'	laho	'tie'	au ho-ni	'tree'

PAN/PMP *b	*babuy	'pig'	*bulan	'moon'	*buku	'joint'
Buru /f/	fafu	'pig'	fulan	'moon, month'	foko-n	'knot, joint'
Kayeli /b/	babu	'pig'	bulan	'moon, month'	buku-ni	'knot, joint'
Hukumina /ɸ/	ɸaɸu	'pig'	ɸulan	'moon'		
PAN/PMP *b	*binay	'female'	*buaq	'fruit'	**peba[4]	'roast, bake'
Buru /f/	ana-fina	'female'	fua-n	'fruit, veg.'	pefa	'roast, bake'
Kayeli /b/	em-bina	'female'	bua-ni	'fruit, veg.'	heba	'roast, bake'
PAN/PMP *b	*buluq	'body hair'	*bitis	'calf'	*təbuS	'sugarcane'
Buru /f/	folo-n	'hair'	fiti-n	'lower leg'	tefu	'sugarcane'
Kayeli /b/	bolo-ni	'hair'	biti-ñ	'leg, foot'	tebo	'sugarcane'

While most historical final consonants were lost in languages in the region, Kayeli retains reflexes of final *R. *R > /l/ is shared by Kayeli with most languages of west Seram and Ambon (Collins 1983).

PAN/PMP *R	*paRi	'stingray'	*Rapus	'tie (v)'	*apuR	'lime, chalk'
Buru /h/	pahi	'stingray'	hapu	'tie'	apu	'lime, chalk'
Kayeli /l/	hali	'stingray'	laho	'tie'	ahul	'lime, chalk'
PAN/PMP *R	*tuRun	'descend'	*uRaC	'vein, artery'	*ma-Ruqanay	'male'
Buru /h/	toho	'descend'	uha-t	'vein, artery'	emhana	'male'
Kayeli /l/	tolo	'descend'	ula-te	'vein, artery'	emlana	'male'
PAN/PMP *R	*duRi	'thorn, fishbone'	*daRaq	'blood'	**waSeR[5]	'water'
Buru /h/	rohi-n	'bone'	raha-n	'blood'	wae	'water'
Kayeli /l/	loli-ñ	'bone'	lala	'blood'	waele	'water'

[4] My own reconstructions based on the available data are indicated by **. These represent some hypothetical pre-Buru-Kayeli parent language whose scope and status are yet to be determined.

[5] The standard reconstruction is *waSiR. I presented evidence (1991b) requiring a doublet *waSəR at some level prior to the CMP languages of eastern Indonesia to account for the data in a large number of languages. The *S here is misleading in that it functions at the PAN level (PMP *h). It is not clear how its reflexes behave below the PMP level.

PAN/PMP *R	**Rawa	'swampy field'[6]	*Rumaq	'house'	*ñiuR	'coconut'
Buru /h/	hawa	'garden'	huma	'house'	niwe	'coconut'
Kayeli /l/	lawa	'garden'	luma	'house'	niwele	'coconut'
Hukumina	awa	'garden'	uma	'house	nui	'coconut'

PAN/PMP *d	*daRaq	'blood'	**dedu()	'swallow'	*si(n)duk	'spoon'
Buru /r/	raha-n	'blood'	reru	'swallow'	ka siru	'spoon'
Kayeli /l/[7]	lala	'blood'	lelu	'swallow'	silu	'spoon'
PAN/PMP *d	*duRi	'thorn, fishbone'	*udaŋ	'shrimp'		
Buru /r/	rohi-n	'bone'	uran	'shrimp'		
Kayeli /l/	loli-ñ	'bone'	ula?	'shrimp'		

PAN/PMP *ŋ	*aŋin	'wind'	*baŋun	'rise'	*Siŋus	'mucus'
Buru /ŋ/	aŋin	'wind'	faŋo	'wake, get up'	ŋihu-t[8]	'mucus'
Kayeli /n/	anin	'wind'	mbano	'wake, get up'	ninu-te	'mucus'
PAN/PMP *ŋ	*ŋi(n)si	'tooth'	**beŋaw	'fly (n)'	*saŋa	'branch'
Buru /ŋ/	ŋisi-n	'tooth'	feŋa	'fly'	saŋa-n	'fork'
Kayeli /n/	nisi-ñ	'tooth'	bena	'fly'	sana-ne	'branch'
PAN/PMP *ŋ	*ŋajan	'name'	*naŋuy	'swim'		
Buru /ŋ/	ŋaa-n	'name'	naŋo	'wade'		
Kayeli /n/			nano	'swim'		
Hukumina /n/	naran	'name'				

Additional data for Hukumina are much more limited. Cognate data reveal a couple of significant differences in the reflexes of *k and *s.

PAN/PMP	*k	*iSɔkan	'fish'	*kaSiw	'wood'	*kuCu	'headlouse'
Buru	k– –k– –∅	ika	'fish'	kau	'wood'	koto	'headlouse'
Kayeli	k/∅– –k/∅– –∅ (split)	ian	'fish'	au	'wood'	oto	'headlouse'
Hukumina	k/∅– –k– –∅ (→/c/ /i_V)	ica	'fish'	kauk	'wood'	oto	'headlouse'
PAN/PMP	*biCuka 'bowles'	*i-aku	'1s'	*kuku	'fingernail'	*waŋka	'boat'
Buru	fuka-n 'abdomen'	yako	'1s'	koko	'fingernail'	waga	'boat'
Kayeli		au	'1s'	koko-ni	'fingernail'	waa	'boat'
Hukumina	tuka-n 'stomach'	au/ak–	'1s'				

The Kayeli split appears unconditioned and is equally divided between /k/ and /∅/ in initial and medial positions. The Hukumina *k > /c/ /i_V, while limited, is reminiscent of a few languages of southeast Sulawesi, such as Moronene. The reflexes of *s are tentative.

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[6] Compare also Malay *rawa* 'swamp'.

[7] There is a merger of PMP *R, *d, *l > Kayeli /l/. They maintain three distinct reflexes in Buru.

[8] Blust (1981) noted the Buru and Soboyo (Sula) forms indicate metathesis from the proto form. C. Grimes (1991a, b) argued that this is probably due to the intense contact with over 12,000 speakers of Sula residing along the north coast of over the past 10–14 generations and should not be considered diagnostic for subgrouping. The Kayeli form does not appear to share the metathesis.

PAN/PMP	*s	*ma-qasi 'salty'	*sapa 'what'	*sai 'who'
Buru	s– –s– –∅	masi 'sea'	sapa-n 'what'	
Kayeli	s– –s– –∅		saha 'what'	
Hukumina	f/h– –f– –∅	mafin 'sea'	faga 'what'	hai 'who'

3.2 Grammatical constructions

All three languages are typologically SVO, prepositional, adjectivals follow the head noun, genitive comes before the head noun. They are predominantly head-marking languages (see Nichols 1986). From the limited data available there are also some notable differences

Buru genitive enclitics are non-syllabic –C. Kayeli genitive enclitics are more historically conservative, being syllabic –CV. The Kayeli enclitics are extrametrical, not affecting penultimate stress on the root.

PAN/PMP	*–mu	'2sGEN'	*–nia	'3sGEN'
Buru	–m	'2sGEN'	–n	'3sGEN'
Kayeli	–mo	'2sGEN'	–ni	'3sGEN'

There is also a difference between the possessive construction in Buru and Kayeli. Kayeli retains the PMP possessive particle *ni in the third singular. Buru does not. Furthermore, there is a lack of correlation between where the two languages naturally use the genitive construction (Noun + Head–GEN) and where they would use the general possessive construction (Noun + Possessive Word + Head). The genitive construction normally represents a physical or conceptual part-whole relationship. [3sG = 'third person singular genitive'; 3sP = 'third person singular possessive'].

Kayeli Genitive			Buru Genitive		
wael	bata-n	'wave'	wae	fata-n	'wave'
water	trunk-3sG		water	trunk-3sG	
nua-n	usa-n	'lips'	fifi-n	oko-n	'lips'
mouth-3sG	skin-3sG		mouth-3sG	skin-3sG	

Kayeli Possessive				Buru Genitive		
manu	ni	saya-n	'bird's wing'	manu-t	pani-n	'bird's wing'
bird	POS	wing-3sG		bird-NOM	wing-3sG	
manu	ni	bolo-n	'bird's feather'	man	folo-n	'bird's feather'
bird	POS	hair-3sG		bird	hair-3sG	

Kayeli Possessive				Buru Possessive			
wale-t	ni	buku	'knot of the vine'	wahe-t	nake	foko-n	'knot of the vine'
vine	POS	knot		vine-NOM	3sP	knot-3sG	

Another area of noticeable difference is that vowel-initial verb roots in Kayeli and Hukumina take a subject prefix, in a pattern similar to many languages in the CMP region. Buru has no system of subject prefixes, the forms relevant to the example below being simply *ino* 'drink' and *ine* 'sleep (the latter limited to the north Rana and Lisela dialects of Buru)'.

	PAN *inum 'drink'		
	Kayeli	Buru	Hukumina
'1s-drink'	k-ino	yako ino	g-ino
'3s-drink'	n-ino	riŋe ino	
'1pi-drink'	t-ino	kita ino	

	PMP *qinep 'sleep'	
	Buru	Kayeli
'1s-sleep'	yako ine	k-ine
'3s-sleep'	riŋe ine	n-ine (unattested)'
'1pi-sleep'	kita ine	t-ine

In the verbal morphology there are striking differences in the use of the marker for indicating that the semantic role structure of the post-verbal core argument verb has been repackaged from its unmarked role. Buru uses a non-syllabic applicative *–k* suffix. Kayeli, on the other hand, uses a disyllabic stress bearing auxiliary *heer* that can also indicate a causative, and thus also affect the interpetation of the preverbal core argument.

Buru		Kayeli	
keha	'rise, stand up'	kela	'rise, stand up'
ep-keha-k	'lift s.t., put s.t. up'	kela heer	'lift s.t., put s.t. up'
datak /eg-tata-k/	'fall (vi)'	pire	'fall (vi)'
tata-k	'drop s.t.'	pire heer	'drop s.t.'
mata	'die'	mata	'die'
ep-mata	'kill'	mat-heer	'kill'
mata-k	'ready, complete'		
mali	'laugh'		
mali-k	'laugh at s.o. or s.t.'		
sai	'paddle (a canoe)'		
sai-k	'paddle s.o. somewhere'		

3.3 Vocabulary issues

A range of vocabulary issues characterize the scope of similarity between Buru and Kayeli. On a modified Swadesh 200–item wordlist, Buru (11 wordlists, 4 dialects) and Kayeli (2 dialects) range between 41–53% lexical similarity with dialects in prolonged contact showing more similarity. Of 428 items in the Kayeli dictionary, 40% are true cognates with Buru vocabulary. Of those 428 Kayeli items, 13% are loan words (from Malay, Arabic, Portuguese, Sanskrit). Of the cognate vocabulary, the combination of different sound correspondences can have the effect of making the languages look significantly different.

PAN/PMP	*paRi	'stingray'	*Rapus	'tie (v)'	*daRaq	'blood'
Buru	pahi	'stingray'	hapu	'tie'	raha-n	'blood'
Kayeli	hali	'stingray'	laho	'tie'	lala	'blood'
PAN/PMP	**peba	'roast, bake'	**beŋaw	'fly (n)'	*udaŋ	'shrimp'
Buru	pefa	'roast, bake'	feŋa	'fly'	uran	'shrimp'
Kayeli	heba	'roast, bake'	bena	'fly'	ula?	'shrimp'

Of course non-cognate vocabulary highlights differences even more (around 60% of the available data between Kayeli and Buru fall into this category; the differences with Hukumina are not measurable as a percentage).

Gloss	Buru	Kayeli	Hukumina
hand, arm	fahan	limani	rima
mouth	fifin	nuan	mpiduŋ
foot, leg	kadan	bitiñ	eñaik

head	olon	oloni	fatun
betelpepper	dalu	gamal	elut
jungle	mua	boot	gulalin
sleep	bage	ine	etnono
sleepy	duba		lastoton
sick, painful	empei	berere	boto
return (home)	oli	wae	bihin
no, not	moo		mbaa
hungry	eglada	nanibar	spala
sit	defo	stea	egnabon

4. Historical events relevant to language ecology on Buru

While located in the region called the Spice Islands, Buru was historically on the periphery of the spice trade and its associated power struggles. Cloves (*Eugenia caryophyllata*) are native to Ternate and the islands off the west coast of Halmahera. Nutmeg and mace (*Myristica fragrans*) are native to the Banda Islands 300 km. east-southeast of Buru. Two main trade routes developed from peninsular southeast Asia to the source of the spices both before and after European contact (which began in 1511).[9] One route went along the north coasts of Borneo and Sulawesi to Ternate. The second went along Sumatra, Java, Flores, Timor, and cut up to Ambon (cf. Villiers 1981, van Fraassen 1983, 1987). Both of these routes missed Buru. The link between Ternate and Ambon likewise by-passed Buru.

Map 3: The islands of eastern Indonesia

Although leaders at Ternate initially welcomed the Portuguese as trading partners in 1512, numerous tensions soon developed in the region.

The exclusive trading rights of the Portuguese were contested by traders from Southeast Asia who had prior trading arrangements in the region. In addition, religious conflicts arose between Islam and the newly arrived Christianity brought by the Portuguese. With the wealth derived from the spice trade and the influence of Islam, Ternatan society developed into a sultanate, with power and authority allocated to a single individual (the Sultan) rather than with the traditional group of elders who made decisions by consensus.

[9] At the height of the early spice trade, one of the main centers was Malaka (known in the earlier literature as 'Malacca', founded in 1401), in the straits between Sumatra and peninsular Malaysia.

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Buru came to be considered a dependency of Ternate, with the Sultan's 'governors' on Buru eventually appointing four local men as *Matgugul*[10] with the responsibility of extracting tribute (*enati* lit. 'that which is set down') from the populace on behalf of the Sultan.

When the *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*[11] [VOC] succeeded in taking over the Portuguese fort on Ambon in 1605, their primary goal was to establish a monopoly in the spice trade. They soon engaged in a series of military actions to bring various areas under their control. The demise of the Ternatan power structure through the 'Hoamoal wars' on Seram and the escalation of Dutch power is described by van Fraassen (1983:17):

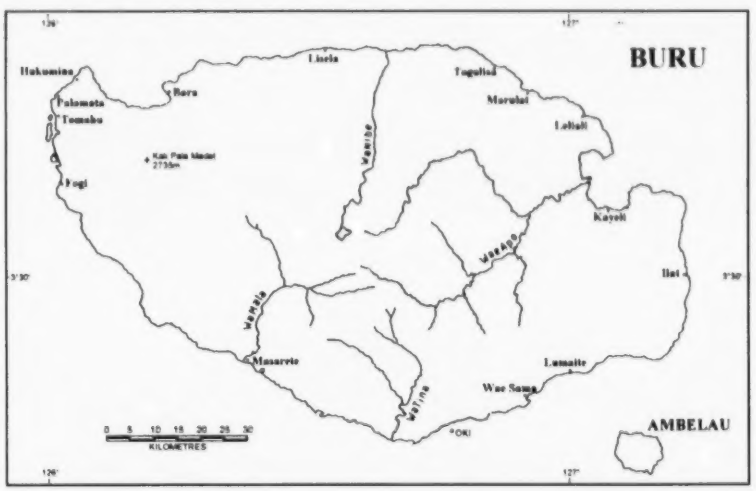
> The war ignited by the 1651 rebellion [against the Dutch] continued until 1656. The rebels received Macassarese support, and the war was in no way restricted to Hoamoal [west Seram]. Arnold de Vlamingh van Oudtshoorn, the Dutch commander-in-chief in this war, was also launching attacks on the VOC's opponents elsewhere, among other places in Buru and east Seram. . . . The Ambonese region was formally removed from Ternatan control and the institution of the Ternatan governorship was abolished. Hoamoal, . . . was completely depopulated. . . . The chiefs of Hoamoal had a place of residence assigned to them in Batu Merah, in the vicinity of the VOC's chief fortress in Ambon. The population of the islands of Boano, Kelang and Ambelau was transferred to the island of Manipa, where the Company had a small fort. *All the Muslim chiefs of the coastal areas of Buru were obliged to settle in the neighbourhood of the Company's fort at Kayeli. . . . The evacuated areas were systematically destroyed and rendered unfit for reoccupation.* Contracts were concluded with the chiefs of Buru and North and East Seram in which the latter conceded themselves to be subordinate to the VOC; promised to entertain no relations with other nations or rulers, to keep out all Macassarese, Malays, and Javanese. [Emphasis mine]

While those living in the interior were not as affected by Ternate's struggle with Europeans over the spice trade as those on the coast, the situation did have a significant effect on language use on the island. Twelve coastal communities were forced to live around the Dutch fort at Kayeli on the southern shore of Namlea Bay.

The above event had a significant effect on language use on Buru. The Dutch gathered twelve hostage-puppets around them at the fort at Kayeli on the southern shore of Namlea bay.

The leaders of these communities are still referred to in Kayeli as the "12 Raja Patti" or the "12 Latu Patti" ('12 king-leaders'). Each *raja* or *latu* set up his own village, his own mosque, his own wells, etc., for a community of people from his own area speaking whatever variety of speech was distinct to their

Map 4: Villages from which the Dutch relocated populations



[10] *Gugul* is a Ternate loan associated with the position of a ruler (Andaya 1990).

[11] The Dutch East India Trading Company.

area.[12] Six of these mosque-villages were clustered west of the Kayeli river, including Kayeli, Lisela, Tagalisa, Marulat, Leliali, Ilat and Bara (Fogi). Five others were clustered on the east side of the Lumaiti river two kilometers away, including Masarete, Hukumina, Lumaiti, Tomahu and Palamata, with Waisama to the south. The Dutch fort was in the middle, between the two rivers along with a Kampung Cina (Chinese Village) and a village called Kayeli Kristen (Christian Kayeli). In 1847 the population of the communities around the Kayeli fort was around 2000. At that time a government official (Willer 1858:138) listed these same villages, showing that the situation had changed little for 200 years.

During these 200 years Kayeli remained the focal point of Dutch involvement on Buru. However, as the Dutch administrators recorded, there was very little profit to be made from Buru. Following their practices established elsewhere, the Dutch saw each *raja* at Kayeli as king (*regent*) over a large territory surrounding his home village. Thus, the Dutch saw their own control as extending to all of Buru through the *rajas* at Kayeli. In accord with the precedence established by the Sultan of Ternate, the Muslim *rajas* continued to extract tribute and services from the people living in their territory—a practice they legitimated from the perceived superiority of Islam over the heathen (*Alfuru*) people in the interior of Buru. The tribute and services were important for the *rajas* as they profited from servicing ships stopping at Kayeli as a port of call to replenish water, firewood and other supplies. In 1845–46 one Spanish, three American, one Balinese and eight English ships are recorded as stopping in Kayeli (Willer 1858:209).

During the second half of the 1800s the greater fort community at Kayeli began to decline for a variety of reasons. The Dutch officials became concerned by what they perceived as an abuse of power by the *rajas* over the interior people of Buru. B. D. Grimes (1993:37) describes the ensuing decay:

> As the colonial government weakened the authority of the *raja*, Kayeli began to decline. Perhaps not unrelated was the fact that Kayeli was one of the few places the Dutch allowed the sale of opium. The unproductiveness of several opium-smoking *rajas* was noted by Forbes (1885:392). Furthermore, in the 1880s the *rajas* of Leliali, Wae Sama and Fogi, along with most of their people, returned to their original homeland after more than 200 years at the fort. Around the turn of the century the *rajas* of Lisela and Tagalisa did the same. Also by the turn of the century the villages of Maroelat and Bara were extinct, and the ruling families of Hukumina, Tomahu and Lumaiti had died out. In 1907 there were only 231 Moslems at Kayeli, compared to 1400 fifty years earlier (van der Miesen 1908:836, 837).

In addition, a smallpox epidemic swept the area during the latter part of the 1800s, severely reducing the population around the fort. And in the early 20th century the Dutch colonial government, the Chinese, and the Christian village moved out of the malarial swamp at Kayeli to a dry area across the bay which became the present-day government center of Namlea. By the time of a detailed Dutch map in 1915, the two groupings of six villages had consolidated into just two villages—Masarete and Kayeli.[13]

Thus, from the mid–1600s until early in the 1900s, the focus of Dutch contact on Buru was concentrated around the fort at Kayeli. The community surrounding the fort was a complex microcosm of the 12 Muslim communities with their associated speech varieties, plus mercenaries and government officials

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[12] Willer (1858:138) lists Ternate and Malay titles for the "chiefs" clustered around the fort at Kayeli, including a *sengaji* for Lumaete; *raja* for Kayeli, Lisela, Tagalisa and Leliali; *patti* for Marulat, Hukumina and Fogi; *orang kaya* for Wae Sama, Palamata and Masarete; and an *orang tua* for Tomahu.

[13] In 1989 the village of Kayeli was using the Lisela mosque (the Kayeli mosque being in ruins) and the locations of the former villages of Tagalisa and Fogi were still known. The village of Masarete stands seaward from the site of the former village of Hukumina whose foundations are still to be found hidden underwater in a nearby sago swamp. Some remnants of the inhabitants of the extinct villages are still identifiable by their kin group affiliations. And some of the older people still remember bits and pieces of the different speech varieties as either first language or second language speakers.

from Ambon, Seram, and other parts of the archipelago.[14] While the Kayeli people continued to use the Kayeli language for things associated with their own cultural and political domains, the language of this multiethnic multilingual community around the fort eventually became Malay.[15] It was from this community around the Dutch fort at Kayeli that most of the wordlists labeled 'Buru' were collected during this period. This serves as a partial explanation for the utter confusion and language mixing found in most of those wordlists.

5. CULTURAL NOTIONS OF POWER AND PLACE

In returning to their homelands after more than 200 years at the Dutch fort, the five *rajas* and their communities exemplified important cultural notions about power and place. Societies of eastern Indonesia are organized around kin groups which can also be aptly described as 'origin groups'. Fox (1990:3) has characterized such groups in eastern Indonesia as follows:

> what they claim to share and to celebrate is some form of common derivation. This derivation is socially constructed and may be variously based on the acknowledgment of a common ancestor, a common cult, a common name or set of names, a common place of derivation, and/or a share in a common collection of sacred artifacts.

On Buru there are around 40 such kin groups referred to locally as *noro*. The *noro* to which an individual belongs establishes his or her ancestors and place of ancestral origins. This territory may be around the headwaters of the stream at which their mythical founding ancestor first appeared, or the place where an immigrating founding ancestor first disembarked from the boat that brought them to the island. *Noro* members are inalienably tied to this place as traditional custodians, even though they may not live there. It is thus important not only on Buru, but also in many societies in eastern Indonesia, to distinguish between *place of residence* and *place of origin*.

In times of difficulty Buru people who reside outside their place of origin return there to restore or ensure a proper state of affairs in their relationship with the founding ancestor as well as with other relatives, living and dead. This includes people who have lived their entire lives on the coast or even on another island several thousand kilometers away. This dynamic is also true across generations with younger people returning to the place of origin that their parents or grandparents left that the younger generation may never have visited in order to resolve difficulties they cannot otherwise overcome. In 1991 to resolve difficult relations they were experiencing with another kin group, one entire kin group who had lived in the center of the island for several generations abandoned their village and fields there and migrated four days' walk to the coast to return to the place at which their founding ancestor had first set foot on Buru. Buru people acknowledge ties to their ancestors regardless of where they are, but the relationship is most efficacious in the place of origin of their kin group (see B. D. Grimes 1993).

The phenomenon of returning to one's place of origin to resolve difficulties has also been observed for other societies in the region and is not limited to isolated societies. For example, Cooley (1961) observed that Ambonese Christians will travel several thousand kilometers home to participate in Good Friday communion when trying to overcome a particularly slippery and far-reaching problem.[16]

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[14] Such origins are evident in the names listed in Willer (1858) and Wilken (1875).

[15] By this period the Malay spoken in the region had already acquired a distinct regional flavor and was significantly different from the classical Malay associated with the Sultanates of Riau and Johore on peninsular Malaysia (see B.D.Grimes, 1991). It was this regional variety of Malay, *not* classical Malay that was the source of lexical borrowings from Malay.

[16] My own years of residence on Ambon confirm that this practice still exists.

The importance of place and origin groups in social life can also be a factor in language ecology. Valeri (1994) has noted how the small (around 150 people) Huaulu society of north central Seram is a multilingual society with people using the lingua franca and other languages to interact with surrounding groups. Knowledge expressed in these languages is important, but the most important and powerful knowledge defining Huaulu society and ancestral origins is always expressed in the Huaulu language.

6. CASE STUDIES

6.1 The demise of the Kayeli language

The demise of the Kayeli language has involved people of Kayeli kin groups living in their place of origin who have gradually stopped using the Kayeli language. Yet after the events of 1656 the Kayeli people no longer formed an autonomous society, but were merely one of the 12 Muslim villages in the multiethnic multilingual community surrounding the Dutch fort. Many activities at Kayeli were externally oriented and necessitated the growing use of Malay, the local lingua franca. To deal with the inhabitants of the interior the *raja* of Kayeli had an interpreter who could use the Buru language. To deal with the Ternatans, Javanese, Makassarese, Ambonese and Dutch, they used Malay. And to interact with those populations that were resettled around their village they also had to resort to Malay. It was apparently only for internal functions (e.g. home, some marriage negotiations, disputes with other Kayeli litigants) that the Kayeli language was used. They were not even remotely an autonomous community, but were to a great degree integrated into a larger community.

When the Kayeli fort community began to decline, the semi-independent communities that remained were forced to consolidate to some degree. There was no longer sufficient personnel to maintain the 12 mosques independently and some of these were abandoned to consolidate and maintain a few at acceptable standards. At the turn of the century when the Dutch colonial government moved their offices across the bay to Namlea, the 12 Muslim villages had consolidated into just two. Furthermore the smallpox, subsequent deaths, and eventual move by the Dutch conspired to communicate to the other populations that the Kayeli *raja* and leaders no longer had access to the power of the place that brings success.

World War II brought renewed activity to the area, but the Japanese, and after independence the Indonesian government established themselves in Namlea, not in Kayeli. The discourse of past glory and positions such as the *raja's* official translators were maintained, but the substance behind them no longer existed. Most commoners survived by becoming fisherman or as swidden agriculturalists and intermarried from the pool of those left in the two villages of Kayeli and Masarete, rather than maintaining their distinct ethnic identities.

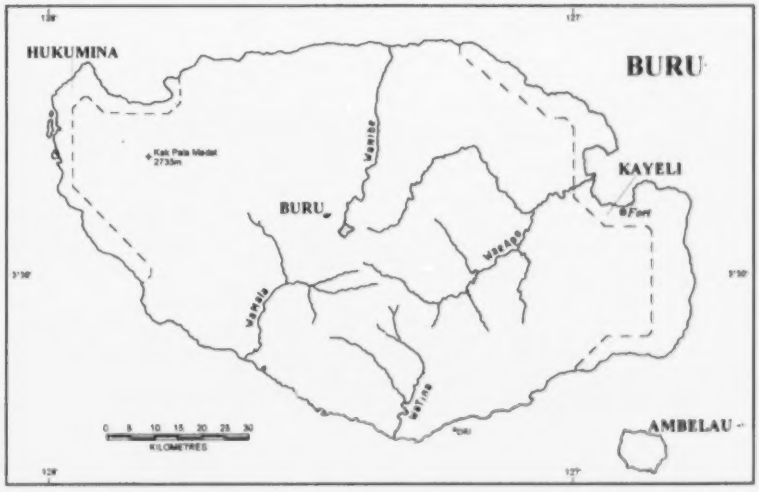
So while at the local level, use of the Kayeli language in a few domains, and contrast with the other ethnolinguistic groups, was sufficient to maintain the language to some degree from 1656 until WWII, the events set in motion in 1656 and the lack of an autonomous community conspired to allow a shift to Malay in this century that went virtually unnoticed by the community themselves.

6.2 The death of the Hukumina people and language

Willer (1858) notes that homeland areas of Hukumina, Palamata, Tomahu and Bara had no interior people from which to extract tribute, and thus the leaders around the fort at Kayeli were not able to be economically independent. And van der Miesen (1908) observed that the ruling family of Hukumina had died out by the turn of the century. They were a numerically and economically impoverished people severed from their place of origin. After these events the use of Hukumina rapidly declined—survival for those left was to be found in using Malay.

It appears there were three significant languages on Buru Island prior to 1650. Each language had multiple dialects as reconstructed from the written historical record, from available data, from historical sounds correspondences, from place names, and from local oral history. Currently only the Buru language survives.

Map 5: Probable linguistic picture prior to 1650



6.3 Similar situations elsewhere in central Maluku

A number of situations elsewhere in central Maluku parallel the dynamics found in the Kayeli and Hukumina cases.

As a result of the Hoamoal Wars (1651–1656) the 'chiefs' from several communities on the Hoamoal peninsula of western Seram were resettled around the Dutch fort at Batu Merah in Ambon Bay. The area around the fort became, like Kayeli, a multiethnic, multilingual community. Unlike the Kayeli situation there does not appear to have been a local 'master' of the land to establish asymmetric relationships among the relocated populations. Malay was also the language of intergroup communication. Like Hukumina, these groups were removed from their places of origin, were not able to maintain a cohesive or reasonably autonomous community, and eventually (some this century) completed the shift to Malay.

Along the west coast of Ambon Island a vernacular language is spoken in the villages of Larike, Wakasihu, and formerly in Allang. The Muslim inhabitants of Larike speak this vernacular language with relative vigor, while the Christian population functions most comfortably in Malay. The historical record shows that the Christian population was transported from the Hoamoal peninsula on Seram after the Hoamoal Wars to the small Dutch outpost at Larike. Like Hukumina, they were removed from their place of origin. Here the resettled population had the additional dynamic of being relocated within a community of a different dominant religion. Apparently unable to maintain their own identity they assimilated into the greater coastal Malay community of the region.

On Buru Island itself, the interior population was essentially untouched by the effects of the Hoamoal Wars and the community at Kayeli. But two situations warrant comment. First, speakers of the Lisela dialect inhabit the northern coastal plain in an area completely dominated by outsiders. Numerically they

are a minority on their own traditional land. While they have not been removed from their places of origin, they have been marginalized by outsiders and have assimilated with other minorities to the greater Malay coastal culture with fewer and fewer of them proficient in speaking Lisela in many speech domains. Unlike Larike, however, both the Lisela people and their Sula and Buton neighbors, who are outsider, adhere to Islam.

In the Masarete dialect of Buru it is helpful to distinguish between the mountain and coastal communities. The mountain communities continue to use their language as the primarily means of daily communication. The coastal communities, however, have the added domains of education, government, religion, Chinese and Butonese merchants, as well as neighboring communities of non-Buru people with whom they interact. The languages appropriate to these situations are Indonesian and Ambonese Malay and the coastal communities are relatively bilingual. Some Masarete dialect speakers have speech domains in which they are more comfortable in Malay than in Buru. However, immigrants from other islands who are in a minority in a given community learn the Buru language to survive on the coast. These coastal speakers of the Masarete dialect are on the or periphery of Buru society, being removed from the interior places of origin seen as the inside (see B. D. Grimes 1994a).

The use of the Alune language spoken in west Seram reflects similarities to the Masarete case above. Alune is spoken in approximately 25 villages scattered through the mountains and surrounding coast. To simplify a complex situation, recent research (Florey 1990, 1991, 1993; Yushin and Takako Taguchi, personal communication) indicates that language use in the mountain communities continues to be vigorous. However, in communities on the coastal periphery, some of which have migrated from the mountains within the last 150 years (most within the last 45), there are many of mixed ethnic composition and uncertain relationships to the land around them. In these peripheral communities there is also a much more varied range and context of usage of Alune and Ambonese Malay, with some segments of society more comfortable in Malay.

Prior to the Hoamoal Wars, in 1621 the infamous Jan Pieterszoon Coen decimated thousands of inhabitants of the Banda Islands to gain control of the monopoly in nutmeg and mace. Survivors fled to the southeast and established the communities of Banda-Eli and Banda-Elat in the Kei Islands. While Malay is used heavily in these villages, the Banda language continues to be used by some. The two villages have been able to maintain a cohesive and autonomous enough ethnolinguistic identity to have not lost their language over more than 300 years.

7. Conclusions and implications

Recent research (B. F. Grimes 1992) lists 668 living languages spoken in the Republic of Indonesia. Language groups located in western Indonesia (e.g. Java, Sumatra, Bali) number in millions of speakers, while in eastern Indonesia a greater linguistic diversity is also associated with fewer numbers of speakers for each language. People from these smaller language groups, by themselves, often do not have the economic and political resources to maintain and legitimate their own language as part of modern Indonesian social life. The examples in this paper from central Maluku show that when cases of language obsolescence and language shift occur in the region, there is not a simple or all-encompassing cause. Factors such as religious affiliation, language contact, migration or population size are not in themselves sufficient to account for all of the cases in the region. Each case must be studied on its own to unravel the complex of interrelated factors involved in the history of each society. No single factor is diagnostic of language death. There are, however, certain factors that provide useful starting points when looking at endangered language situations in eastern Indonesia.

Small language groups are not necessarily endangered, but when communities have been uprooted from their place of origin (voluntarily or by force), it becomes important to investigate whether the entire

population was uprooted (e.g. Hukumina, Larike Christians, the Batu Merah community), or if part of the group was able to remain in its homeland (e.g. Lisela, Masarete, Alune). Smaller language groups in which the entire population has been severed from their places of origin appear more likely to be endangered.

If there is a large language group in which some people remain in the places of origin and some migrate out or are on the periphery in prolonged interethnic contact (e.g. Masarete, Alune), those on the periphery are more likely to be involved in language shift. From another perspective, initial contact with a larger language on its periphery may bear little resemblance to the profile of language use for the society as a whole. While some speakers living out of the traditional areas may shift to another language, if people continue to use the language in their place of origins the language may not be endangered.

If a small language group is inundated by outsiders at its place of origins and unable to maintain its autonomy as a language and society, there is also a likelihood of language shift (e.g. Kayeli).

When an entire language group is removed from its places of origin or when the language group is relatively small and involved in intense outside contact, a key question can be asked: "Are members of the language group able to maintain a cohesive identity as a relatively autonomous ethnoliguistic society (e.g. Banda), or must they assimilate to a larger community for survival (e.g. Hukumina, Kayeli)?

In the cases of both Kayeli and Hukumina the factors that set the stage for eventual language shift or obsolescence were several centuries removed from the actual period of recognizable shift. Each language has a history that may be complex and require detailed study. Reversing language shift or fostering language maintenance requires a long view of the past and perhaps a long view of the future to address the dynamics that have been set in place over centuries.

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